5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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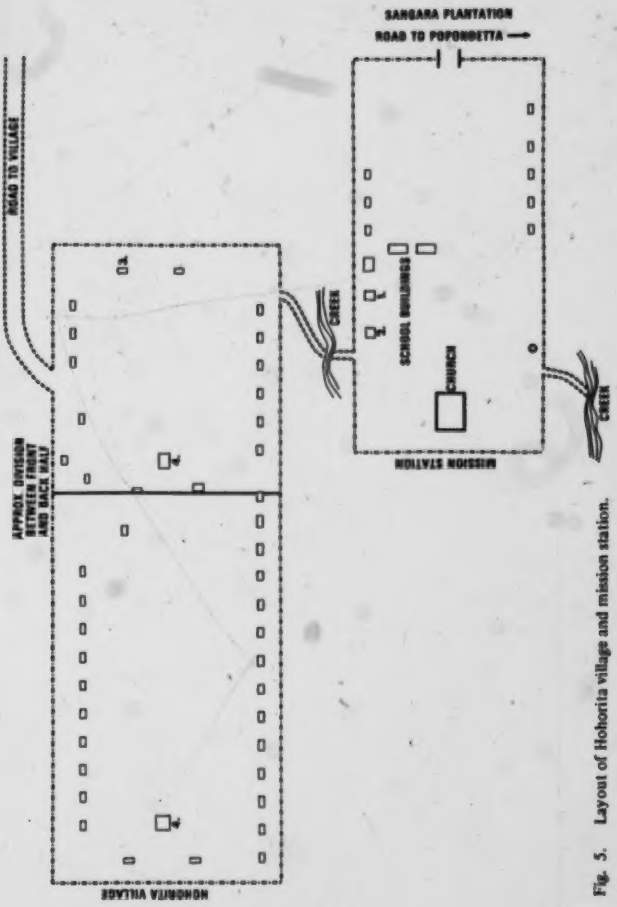

Fig. 5. Layout of Hohorita village and mission station.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Mountain Orokaiva

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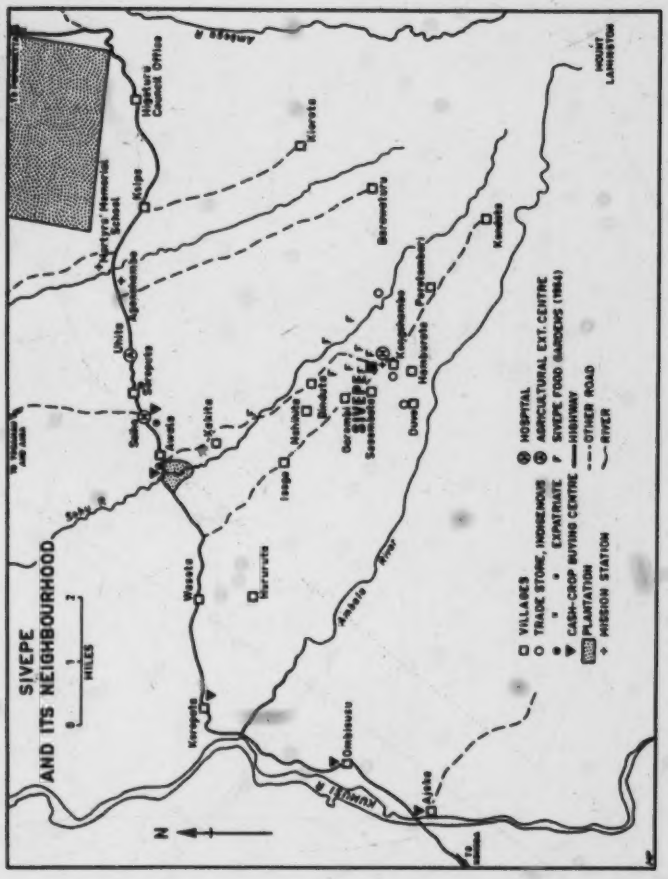

Fig. 10. Sivepe and its neighbourhood.

361 Inonda lies in Buna census division, the most sparsely settled part of the Popondetta sub-district (with the exception of Huhurundi). Apart from an ex-servicemen's settlement block, there are only four villages within a three mile radius of both village sites (see Map 5). At the beginning of the survey, Inonda was on a site it had occupied since 1956, but during 1964 it was rebuilt about a mile to the south-west, still on the forest-grassland border.

491 [368] [13] The village is about ten miles from Popondetta, to which it is linked by a good all-weather road. About three miles towards Popondetta, west of the Girua River, is Hohota village and its off-shoot settlement, Ijika, where there is a local government council aid post, a church and attached primary school (with classes to standard III), and a trade store. Running north-east from the main road parallel to the Girua River is a line of ex-servicemen's settlement blocks - one expatriate - and eleven Papuan-owned, one of them [366] by a former resident of Inonda and several others from nearby [368] villages. There are five trade stores on or near the blocks, two [133] of them expatriate-owned, and a new Administration school. This [508] latter is not used by the Inonda people, although they believe it [494] to be a higher standard than the mission school. Eastwards from Inonda, the road runs through sparsely-populated grass plains to the coast at Oro Bay. Late in 1964 the Popondetta airstrip was closed and a wartime tarmac strip two miles east of the village was reopened to serve the township, with a consequent increase in traffic along the main road.

MAP 5

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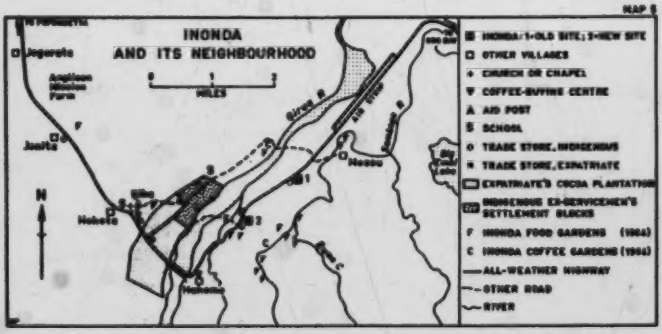

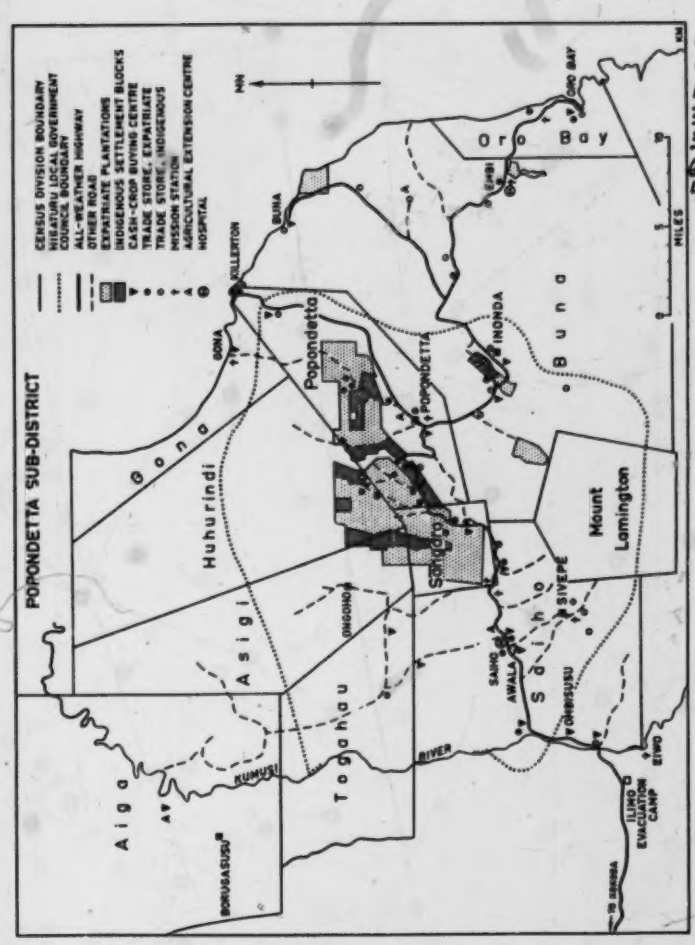

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[p.iii]

[478] [443] [657] [454] The finances of the store were under continual surveillance both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

[438] The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

[434] The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

[464] [167] [569] [871] [777] [434] The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

[478] [443] [438] Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

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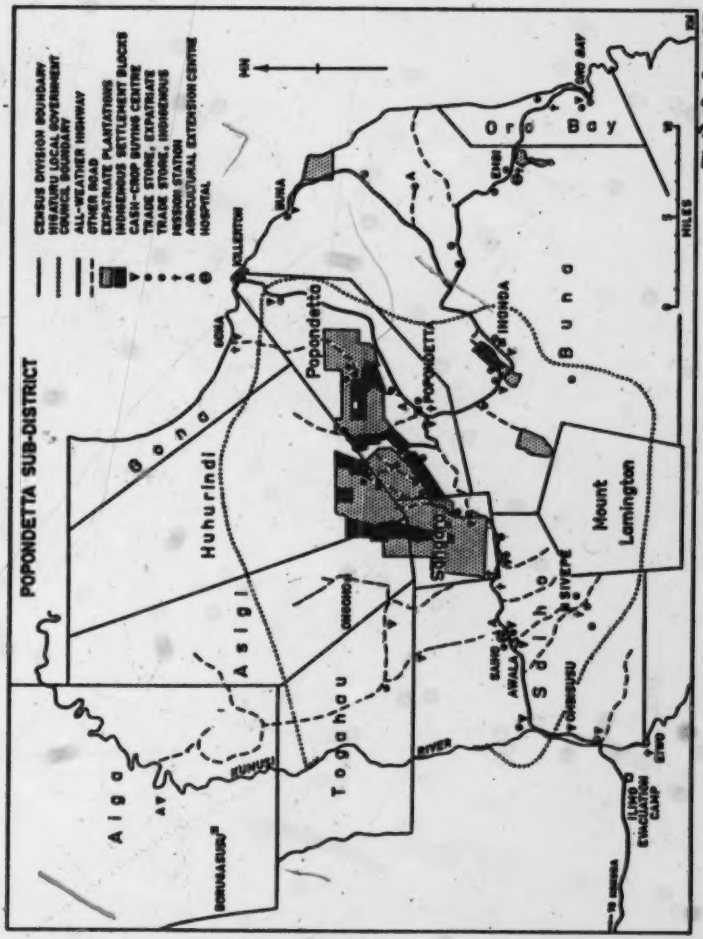
[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

12: Crocombe E-5 (1962) 1966 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Inonda



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[p.44]

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTORY

Location and facilities

131 Inonda is situated about eleven miles from Popondetta off the Oro Bay road. Up to the present, access to Popondetta has been dependent on the state of the Girua river but with the completion of a bridge later this year all-weather access will be ensured. Inonda lies within the Orokaiva culture area and is served by the Higaturu Local Government Council. Administration patrols visit the village once or twice annually.

368 [811] [787] The nearest school is about six miles away across the river at Hohota. Some children attend this school spasmodically and a few board at church schools at Popondetta or Embi. Others do not go to school at all. There is an Anglican church in the village though it is little used except when an itinerant priest happens to be passing by.

498 [366] 429 Kerosene, tobacco, sugar, salt and other household requirements are usually purchased from a small trade store about three miles distant but larger purchases are made in Popondetta. There are four main items of traditional trade which appear to follow particular routes. As betel nuts do not grow well in Inonda these are bartered or purchased from inland tribes (usually through relatives) and the lime which is chewed with them is acquired from the coast. Traditional valuables (hambo) are acquired most frequently by barter with the coastal people, but birds' feathers for making head-dresses (di) are obtained from the Managalas tribes in the mountains in exchange for dogs, money and other items. The advent of shotguns has reduced the trade in feathers to those of birds of paradise and other relatively rare species. In bygone days clay pots and wooden bowls were traded from the coast in return for feathers and other valuables but with the advent of cheap imported utensils this trade has ceased.

Physical features

133 Topography: The Inonda lands lie partly on the flood plains of the Girua and Sambogo rivers and partly in the

Appendix B

The Ombi-Tara environment and population

131 [133] Ombi village is in the Kokoda sub-district about twenty-seven miles from Popondetta along the main Popondetta-Kokoda road. It is situated on top of a plateau up a steep escarpment, about 250 yards from the main road. Tara is about two miles from Ombi and straddles the access road which runs through the converted land occupying part of two of the blocks. It was previously about two miles further away and was moved to its present site in 1964 after survey of the land to be converted was under way.

133 [361] The Kumusi River flows close to the Popondetta-Kokoda road, about four hundred yards from Ombi village. Ombi village was formerly sited next to the river but was moved to its present higher location in about 1957, reportedly to escape the mosquitoes.

871 872 [368] The nearest school is conducted by the Administration at Ajeka, about two miles away. Most children of the appropriate age attend school daily. Several of the older children board at schools in Popondetta while some children do not attend school at all.

366 438 439 The nearest trade store is at Ajeka but this is seldom open, and most purchases are made from the store operated by a European planter at Awala, a distance of seven miles. Clothing and larger items are purchased in Popondetta.

134 The Ombi-Tara lands are part of the Higatura land system which contains a considerable proportion of good land with reasonably fertile soils, suitable for many arable or tree crops as well as pasture.[1]

132 137 The most important features of the climate are the generally heavy rainfall, and the almost uniformly high temperatures and humidities throughout the year. Rainfall ranges from 120 to 150 inches annually and may well be greater in the higher areas, including Ombi-Tara. These climatic features are reflected in abundant plant growth. At Ombi-Tara rainforest covers much of the surrounding land, which is marked by a series of steep ridges.

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[1] See C.S.I.R.O. 1964.

657 Sivepe, as it happens, was one of the villages in which the plan
361 was pioneered.

Finally, I should refer briefly to communications. One
[491] general effect of the eruption was a shifting of villages to the side of jeep roads, as Belshaw also mentioned. The administration favoured this trend which greatly facilitated patrolling the villages. The Orokaiva always seem to have a liking for the Australian-built roads; Monckton already refers to their fondness for travelling over it and explains it gave a sense of security against possible attack by hostile tribes. Though this can hardly be the reason today, the liking remains. Over the last few years, the roads have begun to yield economic and practical advantage: trucks collecting coffee visit the villages and occasionally people can pick up rides from passing vehicles. Speed of travel is also improved for pedestrians. I shall discuss ideological aspects of this liking later.

872 The accessibility of facilities has also improved since
797 the eruption. Sivepe children now all go to the school at the Sasembata mission station which teaches up to Standard 6. Inonda children were first introduced to schooling after the eruption when the Seva people joined them accompanied by a mission teacher.
[368] After this mission teacher retired, Inonda was dependent on a school at Hohota. Only a few children went to this school because it was six miles away, across a deep river, but today, after the building of a new road and a bridge, and the latest shift of Inonda village, this distance has been reduced to about three miles and school attendance is regular.

The eruption changes the centre of gravity of the district.
368 The pre-eruption settlements of Higaturu and Sangara contained all
731 governmental and mission facilities, including the hospital and the schooling past Standard 2. Sivepe's link with these facilities was by a bush track running through Isivita. Today, Popondetta is the centre, but the hospital is at Saiho, the senior college near Agenahambo, the Local Government Council in the new Higaturu, near
[491] Agenahambo. Thus the main road to Popondetta, now greatly improved, has become the main artery. Nonetheless, for those who have to walk, the bush tracks from Sivepe to Saiho, Avala and Agenahambo are still important thoroughfares used by many dozen people every day.

Section 4: Resources

423 I have already referred to the main resource, owned by the
311 Orokaiva, which is their land. The Sivepe people own only about 480 acres, almost entirely gardening land, and very little of their land is in virgin bush. This small area is useful for certain

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
439 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepe. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata [554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Taupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepe village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepe, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepe is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garumbi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is
177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepe,
795

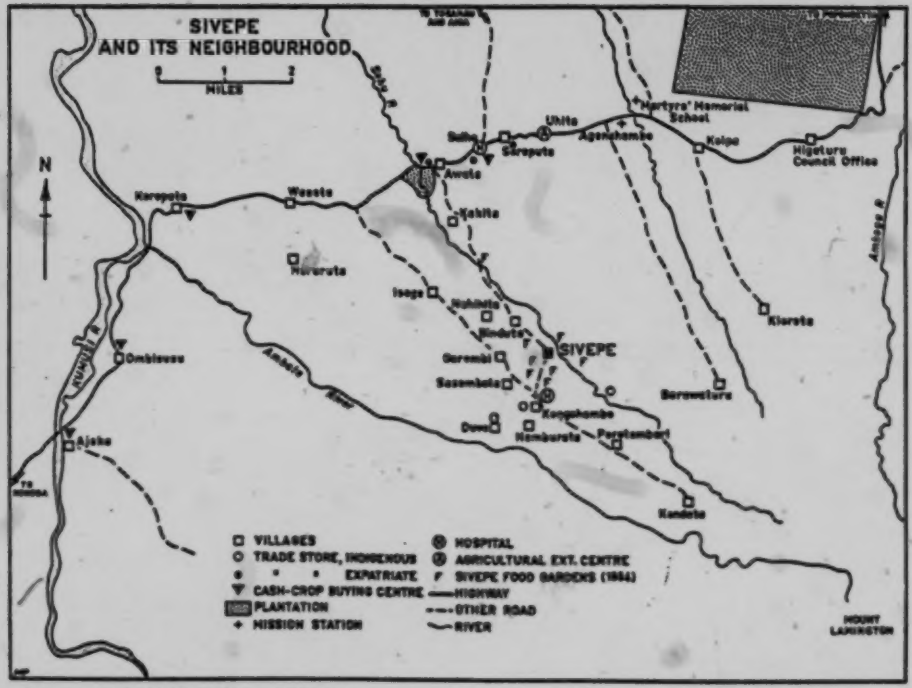
621 station. The Horeopa leader, who was the owner of this land, then
361 invited these other clans to come over and make Hohorita into one united big village. When the clans came over in 1959, they followed the same pattern as the Sorovi immigrants followed in Sivepe: they arranged their houses so as to maintain, in a subtle but unmistakable way, their own identity. They formed in effect a second rectangle which formed a harmonious continuation of the first rectangle but which was separated by just half a chain. In 1966, the front and the back half of Hohorita held separate feasts, each inviting a different village. In 1967, the councillor made plans to clear the gap between the two halves, remove the two old houses which emphasised the separation and build new houses in the cleared area to join the rows together.

Around this time, the Sombou people began to establish themselves in Hohorita, leaving their old village behind. I think it was they
[769] who filled the gap between the rows. The councillor had long been at
[775] pains to close down the small villages of Sombou and Kakita and Sombou was finally persuaded after the death of an old migrant who had remained a pagan. As he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery, and people did not feel disposed to carry out the full involved ritual to placate the ghost, they preferred to shift their village. (They thought that pagan ghosts are far more dangerous than Christian ones.)

361 Hohorita, like most resettlement villages, lies along the main road to Popondetta, 11 miles from Popondetta, seven miles from Saiho
368 hospital, three miles from the Higaturu Council chambers. The school, conducted by the mission on Hohorita station, offers an education to the end of Standard 3.

621 The two feasts held in 1966 were intended to introduce into Hohorita the pigless era advocated by all councillors. I arrived a
433 month or two after the feasts and by that time two very small pigs had
434 appeared which were there for a special reason I have forgotten. Sombou and Kakita still had a normal complement of pigs. Coffee was
[231] a somewhat bigger enterprise in Hohorita than at Sivepe. The trees
[245] were much better looked after, and there were far more of them. Every man had his coffee garden and an income of $100 per annum from coffee
[166] was normal. Young trees were also being planted at a much faster rate. Compared to Sivepe, there were very few wives whose husbands were permanently away working. The reason for this was that there are a number of plantations quite close to Hohorita and those who needed to work to pay off bridewealth, etc., could do so without going too far afield. Money to pay taxes and other regular outgoing expenses
464 would come from coffee. Men who were able to find skilled jobs,
167 clerical or professional work usually had their wives with them. An important resource of Hohorita, not shared by Sivepe, is the availability of good jobs within a reasonable distance; the fact that Hohorita families do not break up in the same way as Sivepe ones indicates that such separation is probably economically motivated. It is necessary for a young man to earn his trophies, so to speak, which in the modern world means money, but if he can do it without a prolonged absence from home, he prefers staying home.

Map IX



Source: Waddell & Krinks 1968: 34

[End Map 8]

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

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Map XI

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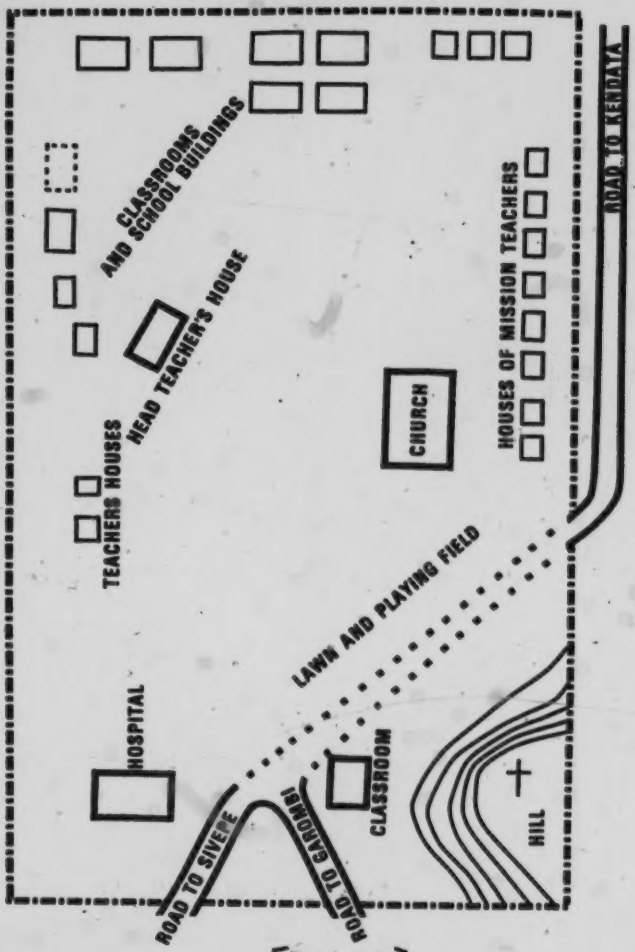
SASEMBATA MISSION STATION



[End Map 10]